623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still [632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

● 625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A [167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders.

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems.

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago.

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers.

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm

625 [632] [647] went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the policeman or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the policeman have to make a report.

[575] [731] The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emergencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 681 [625] The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the [626] tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 626 [681] Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at village meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the absence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the headman. 872 The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156 626 [867] What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind. Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

3. Police

625

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate, after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

751 312 364 156 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action. For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 364 156 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

ooo Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 751 744 [625] ooo It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the present time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science.

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2]

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman.

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
833 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 To date there has been little change within the village, where
178 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable excentions